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contrary, it guaranteed it, enlarged, ennobled, exalted it. In establishing among the moral personalities which we call the civilized states, that is among the native countries of men, the necessary relations of right, in creating among them what we have often called the society of nations, we are doing for them what in 1789 was done for individuals, we are guaranteeing, ennobling, exalting them. In establishing among them equal rights and reciprocal duties, we are creating for them the highest sort of independence, that which knows only a common law, that of the common conscience of the world. And we are founding on the only justice the only peace which is certain.

Is there a cause more powerful, more worthy especially of our own country, of France, against which the doctrines of violence, negation and barbarism will not prevail, of that country which has so often been in history and which will remain in the future the guardian of liberty, the soldier of right?

The Federation of Europe.

BY FRANCIS W. FOX.

A paper read at the Autumnal Conference of the British Peace Society, Nottingham, October 19, 1909.

There exists at present a profound yearning on the part of the friends of peace throughout Europe for a measure of liberation from the oppressive bondage of militarism and the stupendous growth of military and naval armaments, in which all the nations of Europe are competing with one another in a frantic and ruinous rivalry.

The aspirations of the Peace Party in Great Britain and throughout Europe seem undoubtedly to point to the urgent need of a great international forward movement, which shall, perhaps, in the first instance be independent and apart from governmental influence and action, but which shall be in the direction of consolidating and developing the widespread public opinion already in existence, strongly in favor of promoting closer international friendly relations.

There are already several agencies leading up to and pressing for such a great international movement. There are numerous peace societies and associations throughout Europe; there is the Interparliamentary Union, of which in Great Britain Lord Weardale is the president. Then there are the Social Democratic and Labor organizations earnestly advocating the diminution of armaments and the cultivation of more fraternal relations between the peoples of Europe; and, lastly, and perhaps the most important of all, there are the representatives and members of the churches of Christendom, who have yet to be organized into an international alliance or league for giving utterance to the voice of the Christian churches in favor of this closer bond of friendship between the nations.

In connection with the influence of the churches in pursuing peace, John Bright once wrote as follows:

"If we may presume to ask ourselves what, in the eye of the Supreme Ruler, is the greatest crime which His creatures commit, I think we may almost with certainty conclude that it is the crime of war. It has been described as the sum of all villainies; and it has been the cause of sufferings, misery and slaughter, which neither tongue nor pen can ever describe. And all this has

been going on for eighteen hundred years after men have adopted the religion whose Founder and whose Head is denominated the Prince of Peace.

"Why is it that there has never been a combination of all religions and Christian teachers of all countries with a view of teaching the people what is true, what is Christian, upon the subject?"

"I believe it lies within the power of the churches to do far more than statesmen can do in matters of this kind. I believe they might so bring the question home to the hearts and consciences of the Christian and good men and women of their congregations, that a great combination of public opinion might be created which would wholly change the aspect of this question in this country and before the world, and would bring to the minds of statesmen that they are not the rulers of the people of Greece, or of the marauding hordes of ancient Rome, but that they are, or ought to be, the Christian rulers of a Christian people."

The late Prime Minister, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in an important speech on December 22, 1905, referred in the following words to the growing danger to the peace of the world that the present insane rivalry in huge armaments involves:

"I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. The policy of huge armaments feeds the belief that force is the best, if not the only, solution of international differences. It is a policy which tends to inflame old sores and to create new sores; and I submit to you that as the principle of peaceful arbitration gains ground it becomes one of the highest tasks of statesmen to adjust armaments to the new and happier conditions. What nobler rôle could this country have than at the fitting moment to place itself at the head of the League of Peace, through whose instrumentality this great work could be effected?"

An H. M. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, said in the House of Commons, on March 29, 1909, that:

"An increase of naval expenditure on both sides (referring to Britain and Germany) is undoubtedly viewed by public opinion with apprehension. A decrease of naval expenditure, on the other hand, would immediately produce a feeling of increased security and peace. Were there a cessation in naval expenditure, public opinion everywhere would take it as a guarantee of the good intentions of the two nations to trust each other, and the effect would be incalculable."

Lord Avebury, in the House of Lords, on May 25, 1906, made the following remarks:

"Europe is a great military camp, always under arms; we have no peace, only an armistice; eternal war with unlimited expenditure only, happily, without bloodshed. But the result is that, instead of accumulating capital for our children, we are piling up debt; instead of bequeathing them an income, we are leaving them overwhelming responsibilities.

"Surely we might agree in reductions which would leave our relative strength unaffected, and save many millions of money, besides an immense annual diminution of expense."

The late Marquis of Salisbury, in one of his last speeches at the Mansion House, said:

"Remember this, that the federation of Europe is the

embryo of the only possible structure of Europe which can save civilization from the desolating effects of a disaster of war.

"You notice that on all sides the instruments of destruction, the piling up of arms, are becoming larger and larger.

"The powers of concentration are becoming greater, and instruments of death more active and more numerous, and are improved every year; and each nation is bound for its own safety's sake to take part in this competition. The one hope that we have to prevent this competition from ending in a terrible effort of mutual destruction which would be fatal to Christian civilization — the only hope we have is, that the powers may gradually be brought together to act together in a friendly spirit on all questions of difference which may arise, and till at last they shall be welded in some international constitution which shall give to the world, as a result of their great strength, a long spell of unfettered and prosperous trade and continued peace."

The late Chancellor of the German Empire, Count von Caprivi, in a speech at Dantzig, declared, as the representative of his government, that he thought "it possible the advancing century should attempt to unite all the nations of Europe in one federation."

In the direction then of international federation is one of our great hopes for the future peace of Europe. The clouds of future strife, of anxiety and distrust, which now unfortunately hang over the European nations like a foul mist, to adopt the simile of a well-known British statesman, would vanish before the sun of European federation.

Is it not then the primary and most pressing duty of all peace workers, of the representatives of the churches of Christendom, and of leading statesmen, to devote their energies and influence to convert this ideal into a practical and definite reality?

Quite apart from the higher spiritual and moral influences which would result from the greater fraternal and friendly relations of a federated Europe, Sir Max Waechter has recently pointed out that the following important material advantages would arise from such a federation:

1. A European war would become practically impossible.

2. Europe ought to save annually about £200,000,000 sterling on armaments. Add to this the productive power of, say, three to three and a half million of men, which would be more than double the above amount.

3. These enormous savings would bring about a higher standard of living, creating new demands and requirements, and would in this way stimulate production and manufacture, and, coupled with extended free trade and free intercourse, would inaugurate an unprecedented state of prosperity.

4. Employment of labor would be very largely increased, and we should probably find work for everybody who could work.

5. Discontent would largely disappear with the general prosperity.

6. Race prejudice would cease, and the different races would as easily coöperate in Europe as they have done in America.

In the suggested European federation it should, how-

ever, be clearly understood that it is not proposed that the several and separate states of Europe should give up their respective state governments or administrations, as these would remain as they are at present, and would not in any way become subject to international interference, but it is proposed that all international affairs should be administered and controlled by a federal council, which should include representatives of each of the several states in the said federation.

Then, again, in the first instance there probably would be no special stipulation or provisions for the compulsory reduction, except by mutual arrangement, of the several military and naval armaments, as this reduction should rather, where no agreement has been made, be brought about in a voluntary manner as international confidence was developed as the result of the successful working and administration of the federal council or constitution.

But perhaps one of the first preliminary measures to be taken in promoting this European federation would be for the Peace Party to press upon their respective governments that an international agreement should be entered into, in the immediate future and before the meeting of the next Hague Conference, between Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Austria and Italy for the abolition of the right of capture of private property at sea in time of war, and the right of sowing the sea with submarine explosive floating mines, including an undertaking to diminish the present excessive speed in the construction of naval armaments.

In conclusion, it would therefore seem that the primary and most pressing duty of the churches of Christendom, of the peace societies and other kindred associations, is to bring as far as possible potent influences to bear upon the leading statesmen of Europe, and at the same time to instruct and arouse the people of the various parliamentary constituencies throughout Europe, to return as representatives to their several and respective Parliaments men who shall work for international peace.

This, however, seems a rather large undertaking, but if the various influential agencies above referred to are efficiently organized, a widespread international peace propaganda throughout Europe might thus be speedily created and carried out. — *Herald of Peace*.

War and Science.

BY DR. CHARLES RICHEL, PROFESSOR IN THE MEDICAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

Translated from "La Paix par le Droit" by Mabel H. Kingsbury.

Happiness is the aim of life. Whether one admits this or denies it, there is no other aim. The idea of happiness dominates the existence of all human beings. But in the case of men of low character the idea of happiness is egoistic, whereas if the character is noble, the longing after happiness stretches beyond the narrow limits of self-love. In any case, all men, without exception, good or bad, noble or wicked, consciously or unconsciously live only for happiness.

Not only is this true of man, but of all living beings. Everything that lives strives to live, longs to escape suffering, thirsts for pleasure. Pleasure is diverse and takes many forms; but that is of little consequence. To live and to be happy is the universal need of the animal